A RECIPE FOR REVOLUTION

(A humanist & Marxist interpretation of the grand alliance of the sufferers & co-sufferers)

V. T. Rajshekar

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FOREWORD

Every society is governed by its values and these values are normally propounded by its Ruling Class. Values refer to those relatively permanent orientations which down a basis for all the thoughts and actions of a society. From these values stem subsidiaries like beliefs, principles, ideologies, strategies, policies, customs, habits, manners and any other predilections which offer guidelines for action. As we go down the above list, the time frame reduces. These values are carried by all and reflect themselves, consciously or otherwise, in all our day-to-day thoughts and actions.

The rest of the population drinks this values, eats these values, breathes these values and lives their life in accordance with these values. Even political and religious ideologies are subject to these values. By changing the education system, we cannot change our values because even education is governed by these very values.

Every society has its own Ruling Class. Even Communist societies like China or Russia are ruled by their communist parties. But the Ruling Class in China has transformed its country and China today is a major world Power respected, feared even by the U.S.A.

That means a Ruling Class can either lift a society or ruin it. What has the Ruling Class done to India? Not only it made India poverty-stricken while fattening itself on the blood and sweat of its slaves but more than that drugged these slaves with the very values and thus making the slaves enjoy their slavery. There is no parallel to this anywhere in the world.

The rulers and the ruled in every society are on constant warpath. They have to be so. Because their interests are contradictory. This is the law of society. But this law does not operate in India because here even the ruled sip the very values of the rulers. This is the essential difference between India and the rest of the world.

In other countries the Ruling Class may control the political, economic, educational and other apparatus of its country. But not the minds of its people. Not so in India.

In South Africa and U.S.A., the Blacks also belong to the very religion of their White rulers. But that has not prevented the Blacks from rising in revolt against the White oppressors. Not so in India. Here, not only the slaves belong to the very religion of the oppressors, worship the very gods of the oppressors, but in many cases they have become the biggest defenders of the values of the oppressors. Nay, their foot-soldiers, musclemen. It is the slaves who are used in India to fight and die for the values of the oppressors.

If today we are nonplussed by a situation where even the oppressed are trying to ape the oppressors, the genesis may well be found in the mentality of imitation that is so deeply ingrained in our fabric. Imitating the oppressors (a sociologist called it sanskritization) is by itself a major flourishing industry in India. Perhaps they have no capacity to reason out of the vicious circle of imitation. Again, what has happened to the few who have decided to break the shackles? Do they then have the resources to withstand the onslaught which they will incur on asserting their independent identity?

Further, the prevailing conditions in India are such that the need-hierarchy of humans starting from physiological needs and ending with self-actualisation needs moves upward in strict conformity with the Hindu caste pyramid. Those outside

the caste structure occupying the bottom striving to attain their basic necessities like food and clothing and those at the top of the caste pyramid indulging in extravaganzas of self-fulfilment.

Hence the value system ensures that success and failure, good and bad, right and wrong, beauty and ugly are all conveniently pre-defined within the Hindu constitutional framework. The rules of the game are clearly laid down. If you want to play the game, let alone win it, you have to play it their way. After all, they made the game. Is there an option?

Hinduism (or Brahminism to be precise) is not only a religion but a deadly diabolical ideology. In other countries, the values are different from the religion they practice. But here it is one and the same. The Hindu religion sets the values and our thinking. Hence it is not a religion but an ideology.

And the upper castes constituting less than 10 to 15% of the Hindu population (82.64% of the total Indian population as per the latest census) control everything—all the properties, privileges, media and through that the public opinion. Such a situation does not exist in any other society in the world—at least not to our knowlege. Some non-Hindus may be rich but they enjoy no power. And their wealth cannot be used to work against the ruling values. Hence even rich non-Hindus are governed by the values of the oppressors, of course with minor exceptions.

Even the mind of "educated" Dalit (Untouchable) or other low castes is conditioned by the value system of the Ruling Class. Since this upper caste governing class also controls the leadership of India's Marxist parties, there is no chance for any breach in the Ruling Class fortress. The corrupting influence of the Ruling Class is so much that every "educated" Dalit or other low caste slave is automatically recruited as a

soldier to defend the ruling values. Such a soldier is appropriately rewarded for defending its values. That means as literacy and "education" spreads, the ruling values will get better and more lasting props. Every effort is being made to corrupt the slaves by providing them with radio, TV, newspapers, journals, books, comics and cinema selling the ruling values. Since the very air and water of India is mixed with their values, the Rulers need take no pain to propagate these values. Women (51% of the population) form the vanguard of this values. They inject these values directly as they breast-feed the babies.

This value system is inhaled not merely by India's Black Untouchables, tribals and the Backward Classes who together constitute the slaves among Hindus, even Muslims (11.35%), Christians (2.43%) and Sikhs (1.96%)—the three principal religious minority segments—are also brought up in the same value system because India's brahminical education system is common to all the castes, communities and religions. All of them study in the same schools, read the same textbooks, pass the same examinations, read the same newspapers, journals, and hear the same radio and see the same TV and cinema. They also drink the same water and breathe the same air. That is why there is not even a mosquito bite, let alone any challenge, to the ruling values even from among the religious minorities. That is how a majority of the religious minority leaders are found mainly in the ruling Congress Party which is the main Hindu party of India. As the Marxist leadership is also governed by this very same values, till this day no organised attempt has been made to uproot these values. So much so, any stray individual attacking this values is made to look as a bloodly fool. A madcap. This is what happened to Sri Narayana Guru, Mahatma Phule, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy. Dr. R. M. Lohia was called a buffoon. Is there any parallel to this in any other part of the world?

Is there any society where the Ruling Class ideology has gone unchallenged? Is there any country where its governing class is thief, police, prosecutor, judge and hangman—all combined in one person? Have you heard of any society where what is truth and untruth, what is right and wrong, what is just and unjust, what is beauty and ugly are decided by the very oppressor? And this decision goes unquestioned because this very oppressor is also the Supreme Court? And human rights organisations also headed by the very oppressors? Please note: anybody challenging it will be beaten up and destroyed by the very slaves, who are the victims of these values, acting as agents of the Ruling Class.

Such a suffocating atmosphere exists nowhere else in the world. But the outside world knows nothing of this top secret because the entire publicity media, journalists, writers of history books, those who set standards all belong to this Ruling Class. And added to this it has succeeded in convincing the outside world that India is the land of "Mahatma" Gandhi, the "apostle of non-violence", noted for its compassion tolerance, love—even for ants—while practising the world's worst form of crimes at home. Cow slaughter is banned but human slaughter is encouraged!

Performing the impossible task of telling the slave why he is a slave, how he is a slave is no joke under such circumstances. Had the Marxist parties taken up the job, our burden would not have become so heavy. But, alas the Marxist leadership has the same value system. It can retain this leadership only if it preaches the same value system. We have before us any number of "Marxists" living in perfect harmony with the Brahmin values. We also have any number of "scientists" living in perfect peace with the same values. India has several political parties and bitter rivalry exists between them. But all of them share the same value system. Not even the red-hot Naxalites (Marxists-Leninists) have attacked this value system.

Hence this work is a humble attempt to explain these dangerous values and how to uproot it.

The single biggest fear of the Ruling Class is that the Untouchables and the Backward Class slaves may join hands with the non-Hindu slaves and thus breach its fortress. For this it has devised ever so many tricks to brainwash the slaves. The propaganda blitz has coined two words "nationalist" and "communalist" stuffing into these words the necessary cannotations and denotations. Anybody supporting the ruling values is hailed as a "nationalist" and we have any number of such "nationalists" in india. In other words, suckers and sycophants. Baba Saheb Ambedkar was called a "communalist". Because he challenged this values. So also Jinnah. Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy and R. M. Lohia. Sant Bhindranwale was the latest to challenge these values and that is why he is described as an "extremist". No, "terrorist", if not an anti-national.

As the media is completely in the hands of the Ruling Class, anybody even vaguely referred to as a "communalist" immediately invites the wrath of the whole society, including the slaves, which instantly dumps him to the dustbin. And that is the end of his career. Perhaps even his life. But only a handful of people like Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Periyar, Lohia and Sant Bhindranwale had the courage to face this fury. They refused to worship the rising sun.

Fearing such a terrible fate, even those slaves, who are conscious of their slavery, tend to desist from joining hands with the other persecuted minorities—even though they know full well that these minorities are our best friends. Dalits are sufferers and Muslims, Christians and Sikhs are co-sufferers. Those who can think outside the reigning values will have to come to this only conclusion.

The Calicut (Kerala) speech (edited and annotated) is intended mainly to clear the cobwebs surrounding the sufferers and even the co-sufferers. Because many Muslims, Christians and Sikhs have not yet realised the urgent need to embrace the Dalits. It is no ordinary job to repair those who are brain-washed from their very childhood. If that brainwashed person happens to be a Marxist, it is still more dangerous. Because in India the Ruling Class is employing even Marxism to guard its fortress. ("Marxism to the Rescue of Brahminism", *Dalit Voice* editorial, June 1, 1985). That is why to catch a thief we have to set a thief. To cut diamond, we have to use diamond only. Here we have used only Marxist arguments, Marxist jargons to drive home the point why we support the Muslims, Christians and Sikhs, to help rescue the marooned Marxists. The need for a grand alliance of the sufferers and co-sufferers is urgent.

The inspiration to publish the speech came from those rationalists who organised the Calicut conference, particularly V. Prabhakaran and Gopinathan Meppayil who insisted that publishing this speech will go a long way to fight the upper caste grip over Kerala made possible through the Marxist menace. They were honest enough to confess that wisdom dawned on them only on hearing this speech. To such an extent even the Marxists are helping to safeguard the reigning values.

What is happening in Kerala is repeating in West Bengal, also under the Marxist control, and other parts of India. Therefore, it will be good if this work is translated to Bengali and other languages. Those interested in demolishing the existing values are welcome to do this with due acknowledgement.

Values cannot be demolished just like that. Cosmetic

changes cannot undo the values. It needs a revolution.

And a revolution begins first in the mind of a person. Then it envelopes the house and later spills over to the streets. From there it spreads to the society. Women have to be the vanguard of such a revolution. Then only it will succeed.

We have no objection if the slaves of India want to enjoy their slavery. But those slaves when told they are slaves are certain to explode. This is a humble attempt at telling the slaves how they are individually and collectively the world's worst slaves enjoying their slavery.

Bangalore
Date : Aug. 1-1985

V. T. Rajshekar

Speech delivered at the Inauguration of the Calicut District Rationalist Conference at Calicut, Kerala, on March 23, 1985

Mr. President, my rationalist comrades and others:

I. Introduction:

This is the second conference I am addressing from the same historic Calicut Town Hall. Three years ago, I addressed the Kerala Dalit Federation from this very same platform. The hall then had a large number of Dalit women but today I find hardly three. What I addressed then was a gathering of Untouchables, the poorest and the lowest. But today's is not a Dalit meet. Most of you must be upper caste Hindus. More well-to-do. If Dalit women could be so forward, your women should be much more. But I am sorry I find no evidences of that here. How can you be rationalists when you are not able to convince your own womenfolk? You could have brought your sisters, mothers. Your wives. But you did not. That means they don't trust you. They don't listen to you? Are they not interested in rationalism? The women perhaps feel that you want to while away your free time and for that you have formed an association! Like our Rotary Clubs, Lions Club, Tigers and Pigs Club. How can a society become rational when over 50% of it is kept out? Women can be better rationalists than the men. They can be better revolutionaries than men. I have seen it in China.

To put it in other words, no society can be called rational when its women have no sense of participation in it. When you suppress your own women how can you be called rational? Sorry for this frank talk. I am not interested in

your money or your vote. I can afford to be blunt as long as I speak the truth. Two-three women are sitting here and I am sure they will support me (cheers).

I thank you for inviting a humble person like me. I feel highly honoured by your invitation. Those who organise conferences want it to be inaugurated by those having glamour, like a Minister, a film actor, a Sai Baba, cricketer or a financial magnate. I am none – an ordinary writer and journalist. This latest tendency to go in for glamour is a sure indication of our society getting commercialised, corrupted. Ours is not a value-based society. Who bothers about writers, intellectuals ? A society which doesn't recognise or honour on intellectual has no future.

Intellectuals and intellectuals alone can shape a society. Kerala has been an intellectual State. But you are also fast falling in line with the rest of India. A country cannot remain pure in parts. We can make out the intellectual calibre of the people by seeing the type of journals they read. The books they read. I went round the Calicut bookshops. I found you are not very much behind the rest of India. There was once a saying : "What Bengal thinks today, the rest of India thinks tomorrow". Now it is the other way. Bengal has stopped thinking (cheers). The Kerala standards are also falling. At your bus-stand bookshop I saw the *Economic and Political Weekly* and asked him how many copies he is selling. EPW is one of the few intellectual journals of India. He said "some five or six copies". If in a city like Calicut, only 5 or 6 EPW are sold, that is a very serious reflection on the people of Kerala. What I am trying to impress upon is that Kerala has been a "thinking" State of India – Kerala and Bengal. Karnataka is a backward State. Tamil Nadu also is an intellectual State. You have a number of rationalist associations but in the whole of Karnataka we have only one Rationalist Association and our membership is very poor.

Intellectuals alone can shape a society. I mean honest intellectuals. The French Revolution was led by the intellcetuals. The Russian Revolution was also led by the intellectuals. Lenin was an intellectual. The Chinese Revolution was led by an intellectual like Mao. India is not having any revolution because there are no intellectuals in India. The "intellectuals" of India have become corrupt. Mentally docile. Sick. They have become a sort of impotents. To become an intellectual, it needs fearlessness. Courage comes out of conviction. Our "intellectuals", suffer from fear because they have no conviction. That is why we have become a mentally corrupt society. I am not excluding myself. Having worked in the *Indian Express* for about 25 years in the Goenka Marwadi empire, serving a corrupt capitalist press, I can't say I am above board. So I am not trying to exclude myself.

Sex and Films

That is why after the "Independence" (1947) we could not produce a single Nobel Laureate. The moment you say this, our "educated" people pounce upon you like mad-dogs and tell you that India has the third largest scientific and technological personnel. If so, what happened to them? What are they doing? Why we are not getting a single Nobel Prize? Rabindranath Tagore and C. V. Raman got the Nobel Prize before the "Independence". Later thousands of scientists and technologists have been produced. But we could not get any Nobel prize. Why? because India has become a huge intellectual wasteland. If you want to verify this, go to any bookstall: New Delhi airport bookstall or Bombay airport bookstall, you see the type of books our people read. You see the type of journals they read. Those who travel in planes are the decision-makers. The most important people. If this is the type of journals and books our decision-makers read, we can very well imagine the type

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of decisions they make. Either you see books and journals on sex, films, or some silly fiction. If not religion, some stupid Godman, astrology, palmistry, yoga or sports – we seemed to be obsessed with only three things; sex, religion, politics. And who are the people reading this stuff? The people who travel in planes. And they are our Ruling Class. And these are the very people who day in and day out brag about this country's "glorious cultural past" and India being the father of all civilizations. If we had such a luminous past, why we are having such a gloomy present and a murkier future? What funny things! We are good only in boasting. Stupid people. If this is the gutter stuff they read, you can imagine the level of their thinking. If you put a photograph of a naked girl, then only a journal or a book is sold. I learn there is a journal now coming up in Malayam (I forget the name of it), it is specialising in sex. Kerala has become notorious all over India for its sex films. If this is the state of affairs of Kerala, you can well imagine the rest of India. We have become a sex-starved nation. Perverted.

So when the whole society is getting corrupted, decaying and it wants only politicians, film-stars/actors, cricketers, bureaucrats or a magnate to inaugurate a convention, you have called a small, ordinary person like me. That shows the importance you attach to higher values of life. I deeply appreciate your gesture. I am not only an ordinary writer but I belong to a community which is highly despised—the Dalits of India who are treated as social lepers. They are ostracised, segregated, kicked, killed, burnt and raped. When a person belonging to that community is called upon to inaugurate a rationalist conference of upper castes, I feel that the future is becoming little bright.

A Land of Contradictions

Kerala is a unique State. A land of extreme contradictions. Quite a number of you here must be already knowing it. But

as an outsider, I get a better view of it. So I would like to dwell briefly upon the greatness of this particular land of Kerala. Whatever they may call it, "Parashurama Srushti" and all that bullshit. There is nothing like that. It is all a cock and bull story concocted by the Brahmins to fool us. This land was called Malanad. This was purely a land of Dalits, the original inhabitants of India. Till recently there was no Brahmin or high caste Hindu in Kerala. ("How Brahminism Enslaved Kerala Dalits", A. M. A. Ayrookuzhiel, *Dalit Voice*. May 1–1985). It was a pure Dalit State and we have got historical evidence to prove it. With the coming of the Brahmins–the Namboodiris—the caste system started. The Dalits lost their lands which passed into temples and from there into the priestly hands. We have any number of historical evidence. The Malayalam language itself is the result of adding lots of Sanskrit words into Tamil language, When Vivekananda walked through Kerala on his way to Kanyakumari he was shocked to see the naked dance of caste in Kerala which he described as the madhouse of India. It is perhaps the worst caste-ridden State in the whole of India. Kerala is India's only State where political parties are formed on caste lines. Nair party, Christian party, Ezhava party and now we have also a Dalit party – the Indian Labour Party. Why not? Each religion and caste has got its own party. This is something unheard of. There is no other State having caste-based parties as in Kerala.

It is also the State where the Muslims settled for the first time in India. India's first Muslim settlement was in Kerala. People think that the Muslims came to India from North. No. Similarly, the first Christian settlement was also in Kerala. So in many respects this is a unique State.

In other parts of India, Muslims and Christians are a religious minority. But here they are a dominant force. Christians and Muslims each form about 20 to 25% of the

State population. Ezhavas, once an Untouchable community, made touchable by the sanskritization movement of Sri Narayana Guru, form about 30%. They form the single largest caste group with no share in the administration of the State. This is also the land of Sri Narayana Guru, a revolutionary thinker who fought against the Brahminical tyranny. He transformed the whole Ezhava community, gave them a distinct identity. He gave them self-respect though lately the Ezhavas are also imbibing Brahmin values and joining the ranks of our oppressors.

So in many respects, Kerala is a land of paradox. Though Kerala has the highest literacy, it also has the lowest per capita income! Look at this contradiction! Punjab has a low literacy but the highest per capita income! Kerala has the highest literacy but perhaps the lowest income! That means income and literacy does not go hand in hand! Though this is a Marxist stronghold and wherever we go we find Marxist flags, still it is a caste-ridden State. You have caste-based societies, caste-based newspapers. Ezhavas, Nairs, Christians, Muslims, each have their own newspapers. That means Marxism has not been able to make any impact on the minds of the people. If politically the Keralites are pro-Marxist, why in your minds you are communal and casteist? Is this not a big contradiction? Marxist themselves are encouraging temple-going. And that a is separate story to which I will come later.

II. The Modern Sankara :

Another important contradiction is Adi Sankara who was also born in Kerala. He was the first RSS leader of the country. RSS people themselves do not know this. According to RSS, Hedgewar was the founder. No. Adi Sankara was the real founder of the RSS. He personally supervised the killing of

the Buddhists in Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh. Adi Sankara was born to destroy Buddhism and revive the dying Brahminism. Now the modern Sankara is also born in this state. This modern Sankara is using communism to save Brahminism. (Cheers)

Like this, Kerala is a land of many contradictions-extreme contradictions.

Three days before I left for Calicut, I received a letter—an anonymous one—telling me that "you have no right to inaugurate the Yuktivadi (rationalist) conference at Calicut". No name and address was given in the letter. He called me a communalist. Look at this! As Dalits, we are the victims of communalism. We are fighting Hindu communalism. But the very victims of communalism are being dubbed communal! Because, according to him, I support Muslims, Christians and the "anti-national" Sikhs. How can such a person have the right to inaugurate a Yuktivadi conference? He also says: "You are advocating caste-based reservations which is against Yuktivadis. All that he said was true. But the only thing that I did not know was all this amounted to communalism. It is something new to me. He says I have no right to inaugurate your conference. But look, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was also called a communalist, a British stooge. Gandhi was a "nationalist" but Ambedkar was anti-national. Look at the topsy-turvy nature of our values. This is the usual game of our upper caste Hindus. They run down the very people who are engaged in the battle against caste. We are the victims of communalism, casteism. And the pity is we only are being called communal. Look at the *tamasha* in this country, Look at the Brahmin logic!

This is called character assassination. The Brahmins and other high caste Hindus, who form India's Ruling class, own the media, TV, radio, Press. Through that they manufacture opinions and impose it on others. And we buy it paying our

hard-earned money and consume this poison. And then die. The problem of India is that these opinion-makers not only own all the property but our very brains. We have kept our brains in the refrigerators of the Brahmins for deep-freezing. That is why we have lost the thinking power. They think for us. Why? Because it is we who have given them the power to think for us. The mistake is ours. They think and we work. Those who think enjoy. Those who work suffer. Who asked us not to think? Did they tell us not to think? No. We willingly surrendered our power to think. The mistake is ours. This must change. (Cheers)

Muslim Agent

As for me, I have faced lots of charges. I have been called a Muslim agent, Christian agent. Lately I am called a Sikh agent. I was once called the Chinese agent—all sorts of agents. Till now nobody has called me a CIA agent. This is reserved for a future occasion. But to these critics, our only answer is: We are prepared to become even the devil's agent to destroy this Brahmin imperialism. We are prepared to become anybody's agents. Enemy's enemy is our friend. We do not mind facing any charge. The Brahminical values have corrupted everybody in this country. Till the age of 35, I was also having the Brahminical thinking. It was not my fault. No new thinking is possible. Brahminical thinking is the only prevailing textbook. All of us are made to read only that in schools. This must change. (Cheers)

Alas, we have lost our power of thinking. The author of this letter did not give his name or address. This is how the cowards behave. They do not reveal their identity. But one point that he made in that letter surprised me most. He said he was a Marxist. He also criticised the Yuktivadis (rationalists) as anti-Marxists. I have read the controversy between the two in the *Illustrated Weekly*. Between EMS Namboodiripad, the Marxist leader of Kerala, and Pavanan, president of your State

Rationalist Association, Dr. K. N. Raj's reply and all. I have read all this. Apart from that I was also told about the controversy going on in a Malayalam journal, called *Vakku*.

All the while I was under the impression that Yuktivadi movement is an ally of the Marxists. The late A. K. Gopalan, to whom I had great respect, was one of the founders of the Yuktivadi movement here. He had read my book, *How Marx Failed in Hindu India,* and had commended that book. He was not only a great Marxist leader but also a rationalist. In a letter to me he admitted that a Marxist had to fight the caste as part of the party work. But now from this anonymous letter and my talk here I learnt about the differences of opinion and the growing rift between the Marxists and the Yuktivadis.

As for myself being called an anti-Marxist, I want to tell these critics that I was the founder-president of the India—China Friendship Association, Karnataka. I had been to China twice. First, as the leader of a goodwill delegation later as a representative of the Indian Untouchables. China is the most revolutionary country in the world. Chinese are definitely better Marxists than our Indian Marxists. In China, I talked about the need to integrate "caste struggle" as part of the "class struggle". I had an hour-long discussion with Wang Pi-Nan, who holds the rank of a Cabinet Minister. I met social scientists at the Beijing University. They all fully agreed with my analysis of India. In China, I also talked about how the Marxists of India betrayed the Indian revolution. They fully agreed with my views. My book, *"Class-Caste Struggle, the Emerging Third Force"*, was appreciated by Wang-Pi-Nan, President of the Chinese Friendship Association and a senior Marxist leader. My talk with him was recorded for translation into Chinese. They also appreciated *Dalit Voice,* of which I am the editor. The class and caste struggle must be simultaneously launched because in India "caste" is broadly speaking "class". But the Indian Marxists will not agree with me.

When I speak about all this, some Marxists present here may get offended. I want to make it clear that when I refer to "Marxists" I only mean the Marxist leadership. Not the Marxist cadres. The cadres are good. They are our people. Mostly Dalits and other low castes. The proletariat. That is why they are revolutionary. Whether it is a Naxalite party or CPI, CPM, the cadres are from our people. But the leadership is from the Brahmins and other upper castes. My accusation is against this leadership. Not the party. The Indian Peoples Front is a Naxalite organisation, a very big one. Vinod Mishra, Nagbhushan Patnaik—these are the top-most Naxalite leaders in this. The Indian People's Front invited me and Com. Elumalai to Calcutta to address their annual session. If we are anti-Marxists, as alleged, how could they invite us? We are students of Marxism. We have great admiration for Marxism. Marxism is a science of society. Nobody can dismiss it. Not even the anti-Marxists. It helps us to arrive at right conclusions. But the Marxist high caste brahminical leadership of India is determined to bury Marxism in India. Because it is not interested in revolution. That is my point.

Who wants revolution? It is only our people: the Dalits, the persecuted minorities, the shudras and women who want a change. Brahmins want no change. They are enjoying their life. To them change is harmful. They own not only all the property but even our brains. So why will they ever work for change? Will anybody kill the goose that lays the golden egg? Never. Dr. Ambedkar had clearly stated that no Brahmin can be a true revolutionary. It is not in his interest to be a revolutionary.

I want to make it clear that the philosophy of Marxism is different from the existing communal, trade union-based parliamentary politics-based communist leadership. Those Marxists present here need not go under the impression that I am criticising the philosophy of Marxism. No. Not at all.

One-third of the world population is under Marxist rule. I have seen the working of Marxism in China. Even many Christian priests, Jesuits, have started advocating Marxism. They say Christ was the founder of Marxism. So when this is the greatness of Marxism how can anybody dismiss its importance? This is the reply to those people making comments about our stand on Marxism.

Throw out the Marxist Leadership

I heard that the Yuktivadi-Marxist rift in Kerala has taken a serious turn. I also learnt that one of your Yuktivadi journals printed in the *Deshabimani* (Marxist) Press, could not come out. They refused to print it and later it was taken to Tamil Nadu and was printed there. If the Marxists had refused to print the Yuktiwadi journal, I do not consider such a party as Marxist. A Marxist should be first and foremost a rationalist. If a Marxist is not a rationalist, he cannot be called a Marxist. So if the version given to me is true, then it is a great shame on the Marxist leadership of this country.

I call upon the Marxist cadres to fight it out. The Marxist cadres should not think that Marxism is the monopoly of only some select people in this country. It gives us an integral world outlook. It is a "time telescope" revealing how to free the oppressed humanity from Brahmin imperialism. It is a scince of the society, a guide to action and everybody has got the right to learn from Marxism and benefit from it. So the cadres of Marxist parties should not take things lying down. Please. Don't keep your brains in Brahmin refrigerators. You think for yourself. Then only you will understand this. brahminical perfidy: whether it is in RSS or CPM. Yuktivadi movement is an essential part of Marxism. It is the recruiting ground for a revolutionary movement. Through the Yuktivada you go into Marxism. But if the Marxist leadership curbs the Yuktivadis, it is for the party cadres to take it up. If the

leadership does not allow inner-party democracy, it must be thrown out. CPM or CPI is not anybody's grandfather's property. This leadership is counter-revolutionary. Kick out this communal, corrupt leadership. (Cheers)

When I was in Calcutta discussing with some Naxalite leaders, I made the same point. The habit of hero worship is becoming too much in this country. We go on worshipping the Adi Sankara and this modern Sankara. Stop this nonsense. I call upon the Marxist cadres in this country to protest against this sort of dictatorial behaviour. Throw out the corrupt, communal leaders who are presiding over the liquidation of communism in India. The communist movement is over 50 years old in India. Why no revolution has teken place? China had a revolution in 1949. But we are not only having no revolution but witnessing a counter-revolution. Who is responsible? It is the leadership. They divided the movement into CPI and CPM and then into CPML and now the very founder of the communist movement, Dange, has joined hands with the Congress, India's premier Brahmin party. This leadership must go. (Cheers)

With regards our support to the Muslims and Christians, the upper castes have created some confusion in your brains. I want to speak a word or two on this although there is no need for me to be defensive here. There is no need for me to defend our actions. Still a word of explanation is necessary because quite a number of people have kept their brains in the Brahmin fridge.

A rationalist is basically a humanist. A rationalist must be a humanist. If one is not a humanist, he cannot be a rationalist. But who is a humanist? Do you know that 95% of the Muslims are very poor? If over 50% of India's 800 million population is living below the poverty line, those who

constitute this are mostly the Dalits and Muslims. Go to any slums, who lives there? You will find mostly these two people living in such slums. Did you find any Brahmin living in a slum? Never.

Please dont't think that Kerala is India. It is a small part of the country. In Kerala, some Muslims may be rich. The Muslim population here may be quite sizeable, powerful, landed. But this is not the case in other parts of India. There are also quite a number of "Brahmin Christians" in Kerala. Latin Christians have made this complaint to us. When we support Christians, I am not referring to the "Brahmin Christians"—the Syrian Christians.

Muslims in India are not only poor but persecuted. In Ahmedabad, what is now going on is an anti-Muslim riot. The anti-reservation riot has turned into an anti-Muslim riot. I need not give the story of different anti-Muslim riots. It is a daily affair. Muslims are killed not in tens but in hundreds. In Moradabad, 1,000 Muslims were shot dead by the Hindu police within an hour. In Nellie (Assam) the figure is much more. Not a day goes without an anti-Muslim riot in some or other part of India. Not only Muslims are poor and kept out of government and private sector but their life and property, the honour of their women are in danger every minute.

Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy's Praise for Islam

Apart from this there is another very important reason given by Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy, the father of India's Rationalist and Dravidian movement. In a speech delivered in 1947, he even gave a call to Dravidians to embrace Islam. He found Islam the best weapon to fight Brahminism. He found Islam closest to socialism and rationalism. (Anita Diehl, *Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy*, B. I. Publications 54, Janpath Road, New Delhi-110 001. Page 41, 1978.)

If you are a humanist, should you support the Muslims or not? Human rights groups are concerned with all those people whose right to live itself is at stake. In India, the killing of Muslims no longer touches our heart. Not a single condolence meeting was held anywhere in India when in the Nellie (1983) massacre several thousand Muslims were killed. We are more worried about the killing of cows, insects, birds, not human beings. Hinduism is an anti–human religion and those who follow that religion cannot be humanists. If you are a humanist, you have to support anybody suffering and persecuted, irrespective of caste, religion or sex. Muslims are being persecuted, we Dalits are also being persecuted. So we form a union.

III Mao's Contradictions and The Nationality Question:

As regards Christians, in Kerala it is true some of the Christians have become exploiters. We have received lots of complaints on that. We have also published a number of articles on this. We have just published a book, *The Un-Christian Side of the Indian Church*, by Rev. Azariah (Dalit Sahitya Akademy, Rs. 3, 1985). The Christians are practising caste system. Some of the Churches are reserved for Brahmins. Even after the death of a Dalit Christian, he has to be buried separately. Separate graveyards. Even after death he is an Untouchable. But please note: 80% of the Christians in India are Untouchables. So 80% of the Christians are our people, poor and persecuted. They are our people. The upper caste Christians are exploiting them. When we support, the Christians we mean these Untouchables and tribals, those Christians who form over 80% of the church. Is there anything wrong in supporting the poor and persecuted? Is such a gesture against rationalism? If so, I am sorry, it can't be rationalism.

For these reasons, we support the Muslims and Christians, without hesitation. Whatever may be the criticism, I publicly declare that our support to Muslims and Christians is total and unconditional. We are sufferers and they are the co-sufferers. We like them and they like us. They love us and it is our duty to reciprocate this love. Hindus hate us and we call them our enemy. Nowhere the Muslims or the Christians treat us as enemy. If you believe in humanism, logic, then you will be convinced of my argument.

Lately, we have been also supporting the Sikhs. I had also met Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in Delhi. I found him a saintly person. The Hindu Press may call him an "extremist". To fight the Hindu extremism. he might have used the same weapon. Nothing wrong. We have found several reasons to support the Sikhs. That doesn't mean we have no criticism against the Sikhs. Bhindranwale admitted our criticism that Sikhs are practising caste and they are discriminating against the Untouchables. He admitted these mistakes and said Sikhism got corrupted by Brahminism though his religion was formed essentially to fight Brahminism. He said his fight was not only against Brahminism but also to purify it from the Brahmin corruption. Fine. We fully appreciated this and agreed to join hands. (*Birth Pangs of Khalistan*, DSA Document–1985–Rs. 4).

Please note that the Muslims, Christians and Sikhs are persecuted in India by Brahminism. Our enemy and their enemy is the same. They are all as much victims of Brahminism as the Dalits, tribals, the shudras and the women. Over 80% of the Indian population wants to be liberated from Brahmin tyranny. Should not all these people join hands to fight the common enemy? How does such an action become communalism? The Hindu logic is: those supporting Brahminism are called "nationalists" and those fighting Brahminism are "communalists". The Hindus have their own logic. (cheers) Hindus believe what they want to believe.

Those having any doubt, please read Mao's *On Contradictions,* Foreign Language Press, Beijing.

We are not denying the existence of Muslim communalism. We are also fully aware of the Christian and Sikh communalism. But this communalism is the reaction to the Hindu communalism. You read any Hindu literature. They call Sikhism part of Hinduism. Many Sikhs have Hindu names. Common gods. In spite of this why did the Hindus attack the Sikhs, send the Hindu Army into Punjab? Kill thousands of Sikhs? As a reaction to this, Sikh communalism was born. Action produces a reaction. Khalistan is the cry of the Sikh nation trying to be saved from the jaws of Brahminism.

When Sikhs, who are considered by Hindus themselves as part of their religion, can turn against Hindus, are we surprised if the non-indigenous religions like Islam and Christianity rebel against Brahminism? So who is creating communalism? Who created Nilakkal? (Kerala) Who created Meenakshipuram? Untouchables unable to bear the Hindu oppression embraced Islam. Why should we blame Muslims for that? Why did the Hindus kill unarmed poor Christian fishermen in Mandaikadu, in Kanyakumari district?

So those who are creating communalism, casteism have no right to call others as communal.

If there is a Muslim, Christian or Sikh communalism, it is not a major problem. In Mao's words it is a non-antagonistic contradiction. The principal contradiction is the Hindu communalism. Until the principal contradiction is eliminated, we can make all other lesser or non-antagonistic contradictions to work for the elimination of the principal contradiction. This will be clear to any student of Marxism.

So our support to Muslims, Christians and Sikhs is perfectly justified not only from the humanist angle but also from the Marxist-Maoist angle.

It is also justified from yet another angle. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, our leader, has told us: "What Hindus love, we must hate. And what Hindus hate we must love". Upper caste Hindus hate Muslims, Christians and now Sikhs also. So as followers of Ambedkar we have to love all those whom the Hindus hate. Is this clear ?

So we have formed a grand alliance of the Untouchables, tribals, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and also the Other Backward Classes. That is the new emerging scenario. This is the most scientific alliance. And it has come to stay. If the Marxists do not understand and appreciate this grand alliance of the persecuted minorities, they have no right to call themselves as Marxists. The party cadres must expose this anti-Marxist trick of the party leadership.

As humanists, it is our duty to support whoever is in difficulty. For a rationalist, there is nothing like a Muslim, Hindu or tribal. We are all human beings. But the person who wrote the anonymous letter to me says: "Oh, you are a supporter of the Muslims, you cannot be a rationalist!" How can anybody say if you are a supporter of the Muslims you cannot be a rationalist ? Stupid.

India is a Group of Nations

When I visited China, I went to mosques and churches there. I participated in the mosque prayers in Beijing and Shanghai. In Soviet Russia, full religious freedom is given to the minorities. Rationalism and Marxism does not mean suppressing the minorities. No. It cannot be. If you ill-treat the minorities you cannot be called a rationalist. Rationalism goes only with humanism. A Marxist is also a humanist. Protection to the nationalities is a very vital part of the Marxist philosophy. Those Marxists who are sitting here kindly go through the book of Stalin (*Marxism and National Question,* New Book Centre,

Calcutta-700 009, Rs. 3, 1979 re-print). Dr. Ambedkar further elaborated it in his book, *Pakistan or the Partition of India.*

India is not a nation. But a group of nations. Several nations can exist within a country. USSR is a Union of several republics. Two of the republics in USSR are members of the UNO. Marxism attaches great importance to the "nationality question" (Read : *Nationality Question in India*-Seminar Papers—Andhra Pradesh Radical Students Union—Peace Book Centre, D. No. 4-5-421, Sultan Bazar, Hyderabad-500 001, Rs. 10, pages 210-1982). The upsurge of the Assamese was on the nationality question. Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy said Tamils are a separate nation. The current Buddhist war against Tamils in Sri Lanka is on the same ground. The Kashmiris say they are a separate nation. So also Nagas. The latest to join are the Sikhs. Dr. Ambedkar said long ago (1932) that Muslims are a separate nation. Nationality question is coming to the fore.

But the Brahmins, who are Aryans and hence foreigners, do not recognise this. It is not in their interest to recognise this fact. Nobody puts a knife into his own stomach. But whatever they may say, India is bound to split into different nationalities. The tribes are demanding a Jharkhand. There is nothing wrong. We are demanding a Dalitastan. Nothing wrong. We can remain as a single country only if the distinct cultural identity of each nationality is recognised. The strength of a chain depends on its weakest link.

That means our support to Muslims, Christians, Sikhs is fully justified even from the nationality point of view which is part of the Marxist philosophy. Look, those who do not recognise the Sikh nationality, or Muslim nationality are not Marxists.

I want to share with you yet another secret. This is very important to understand the Marxist perfidy.

Till very recently Marxist cadres were being trained by a Christian organisation in Bangalore. It is an organisation of the Jesuit priests—Catholics. It is called the Indian Social Institute. The ISI has its training centre in Bangalore and CPM used to send its workers for training. M. K. Bhat, the then Brahmin secretary of the Karnataka unit of the CPM. was closely associated with ISI. If Christians are communal or Christians are a security risk as Maj. Vedantam says in his book, *Christianity, a Political Problem* (No. 32, II Main Road, East CIT Nagar, Madras–600 035, Rs. 12, 1984), how could CPM hobnob with Christians? Will the CPM explain this?

We as Dalits want to declare that no Muslim has illtreated us. Muslims have been very kind to us. Christians have been very kind to us. Sikhs also. You love us and we love you. You hate us, we kick you. We are humanists. Nobody can be greater humanists than the Untouchables. We have tolerated the Hindus too long. If the Marxists do not understand this contradiction, we will kick them also. We are being persecuted by the Brahmins and other upper castes. No Muslim persecuted us. No Christian or Sikhs. Why should we fight them? We have identified our Enemy. The principal contradiction. I am a student of the Laws of Contradiction. In the I volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Peoples Publishing House, Beijing), the Laws of Contradiction forms a separate chapter. Are we to fight the Muslim communalism, Christian communalism or the Sikh communalism? I am repeating these, using Marxist jargon, because I know Kerala people can understand these jargon better. The principal contradiction in India is the Hindu communalism, or the caste system. Not Muslim communalism, Christian or Sikh. Hindu communalism has to be fought first. Destroyed first. One who says he fights all, fights none. Are the Marxists of India interested in this? No.

I am giving you a piece of information if you do not know it. When a Marxist leader of Kerala went to China, he presented Mao with an idol of Parasurama and said Kerala was a

"Parasurama Srusti". Bullshit. It is Malanad. Our land and not of Parasurama. Who is this Brahmin Parasurama? Cock and bull story. Kerala is the land of the *Ati shudras*. Parashurama is a Brahmin creation. Those who believe this stupid thing have kept their brains in Brahmin fridge. If you have a brain, and you think, you will understand this Brahmin trick. Even this Marxist leader who met Mao had his loyalty first to Brahminism and then to Marxism. Throw out these corrupt leaders. How long will you tolerate these imposters?

The Brahmin story is that Parasurama became a hero by killing all the Kshatriyas. But look, even after killing all the Kshatriyas, the non-Brahmin Thakurs (Kshatriyas) continue to worship the Brahmin! Shameless idiots. Mao knew this Brahmin tricks. He was such a gigantic intellectual. He told the Indian "Marxist" leader "Stop this nonsense". And, I learn, this particular incident was reported in one of the RSS journals in Kerala and while commenting upon the report, the RSS journal said—(I have not read it but some authoritative sources told me and I have no reason to disbelieve them) that the "Marxists are very good friends of the RSS." What? RSS and Marxists are friends? Do you believe this? A new wonder?

Satya Sai Baba

Anyway, rationalist associations and Yuktivadis will have to take note of these disturbing developments. Brahminism is taking you for a ride. You will have to make a deep study of the Laws of Contradictions. Please note the Laws of Contradictions are not a Marxist law. It is a law governing the society. Like the gravitation. Hence it must be studied by the Muslims, Christians and Dalits. We should have no prejudice.

We from the Karnataka Rationalist Association have certain differences with the Indian Rationalist Association. We tell them that as rationalists we have to be first and foremost humanists. Some "rationalists" say that our work should be

confined to fight mere superstitions, obscurantism, Sai Babas, etc. If rationalists remain at that level, it becomes an intellectual exercise. A futile business. You know the Rotary Club, the Lions Club the Bison Club, Tigers Club and Pigs Club. All these are meant for those who after a nice evening tea want to spend their time until the dinner. They have enough leisure and must find some pretext to while away the time. How to kill the time has become a big problem in the overfed circles. So with their wives or others to while away the time they form a club. Nothing fruitful is done in these clubs. So the rationalist associations should not be a club to while away the time like the Pigs Club. If you fight merely superstition, obscurantism and miracles, promoting scientific temper that is not enough. It is very easy to talk very vaguely. It is called: living in two worlds. Why it is possible for me to be very blunt here, curt, merciless, brutal? Because I am not interested in your vote. I will never contest elections. Nobody will vote for me. I am not interested in your votes and your money. So I can afford to be very merciless in my criticism. Yuktivadis should be also equally brutal, fearless. It is possible to be fearless only when you have the courage. Courage comes out of conviction. Only when you bring two stones close and rub them against each other then only the sparks will fly. Suppose you talk about miracles, obscurantism, superstition, scientific temper—you are moving the two stones keeping them away from each other. Nothing comes out of it. They are non-issues. Even Brahmins will join you if you confine your discussion to non-issues. No. They will become the leaders of all such clubs. Including the rationalist associations. You rub the stones against each other, then only the sparks will fly. When you talk about caste system, untouchability, varnashrama dharma, the hypocrisy of the Shankaracharyas, immediately sparks will fly. And sparks will generate heat and then fire. And the fire burns. If you want to be Yuktivadis, it is not like a Rotary Club. So these superstitions, obscurantism, miracles, Godmen—they are only byproducts. They are only symptoms of the

disease and not the disease itself. There is no point in attacking the form, leaving the content as it is. But our rationalist association or even Marxists are busy fighting with the form—the symptoms of the disease.

What then is the disease afflicting this country? The disease is the caste system, untouchability. To be precise: Brahminism. The caste system is the foundation on which Hinduism Is built. There is no Hindu without a caste and there is no caste without a Hindu. if you are opposed to caste, it means you are opposed to Hinduism. M. K. Gandhi criticised only untouchability but he never criticised the caste system. He lived within the caste, married within the caste. Do you know he was a Bania who operated within the caste? And that is how his "Harijan" work became a monumental failure. Because it is not possible to abolish only untouchability without destroying the caste. Gandhi wanted to destroy untouchability, but retain caste. What a big bogus fellow he was!

Our Marxists are afraid of criticising Gandhi because many of them belong to his community and other higher castes like the Namboodiris. Yuktivadis should not be content by merely criticising untouchability but work also for its destruction, which means destruction of the caste. (Read: *How to Destroy Caste System?*—Dalit Sahitya Akademy, Rs. 3, 1983)

When Ananda Theertha went to the Guruvayoor temple though a Brahmin, without his "sacred thread", the Brahmin priests threw him out. because he entered the Ottupura, the dining hall reserved for Brahmins. He launched an action oriented programme to destroy the caste. That means he tried to rub the stones against each other and produced fire. But many of our Brahmin Marxists have not even given up their sacred thread. If you talk merely of miracles, superstitions, dowry deaths, it will be like the Rotary Club. Nobody

will bother about you. But you will get lot of publicity. Our Hindu Press boosts only such bogus people. But genuine revolutionaries like Ambedkar are ridiculed.

If you want to be real Yuktivadis, you must rub the stones against each other and produce fire. That is called the sharpening of contradictions in Marxist language.

But we have some rationalist associations in India which do not want to rub the stones. To put it in Marxian language thay don't want to sharpen the contradictions. What happens when the contradictions are sharpened? Things change. Society gets transformed. Do you want the society to march or remain static? Stinking? That is why I say, rationalists, Dalits, backward classes, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and all those interested in revolution must study the Laws of Contradictions. To Dalits, who are the natural leaders of the Indian revolution, such a study is a must. Forget about these Marxist leadership. They have become counter–revolutionaries. This high caste Marxist leadership is acturally more dangerous than the RSS–BJP Hindu Nazis. The Marxist leadership has become lazy, bogus. To them their caste is more important than the party. They are in secret collaboration with the Hindu Nazis. Together, this people are fooling us. The Hindu Nazis are our open enemy. But the communist leadership is our closed, disguised enemy. We must finish the disguised enemy first. No revolution is possible without throwing out these "Socialist Brahmins." (Read: "Beware of Socialist Brahmins"—*Dalit Voice* editorial, Jan. 16, 1984) These so-called Leftists are coming in the way of revolution. Whenever a revolutionary situation is created and the people are roused to action, these "socialists", "progressives" suddenly appear on the scene and pour cold water on the burning fire. This happened at every stage. They prevent any revolutionary situation from taking an explosive turn. That is why I say this Left leadership is more dangerous than the Hindu Nazis.

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Because of this essential difference, Karnataka Rationalist Association is not affiliated to the Indian Rationalist Association, controlled by the Brahmins who are pastmasters in diverting attention from issues to non-issues. I can understand the IRA doing it but in Kerala and Bengal even the Marxist leadership is doing the same. Why? Because they are also high caste Hindus. Does it not prove that when the caste interests come up, the Brahmins have no party? Brahmins have no permanent party. They have only permanent interests. (cheers)

Burn the Manu Smriti

Inequality and degradation of women are sanctified in the Hindu religion. *Manu Smriti* says : "Never trust a woman. Never sit along with the woman even if it is your mother. She may tempt you. Do not sit alone with your daughter, she may tempt you, do not sit alone with your sister, she may tempt you". Do you discuss these issues in your Yuktivadi association? The *Manu Smriti* should be publicly burnt at every Yuktivadi meeting. If you explain the anti-woman venom in the *Manu Smriti* the women will themselves come forward to burn it. We must court arrest on this. Then only the women will get inspired. By burning the *Manu Smriti* you give enough food for their thought. The women now don't come to your meetings because they think you are doing some *tamasha*. Women do not trust you. Women think men have no other work and they want to have a nice time and for this they form some association to kill the time. But women come to our Dalit meetings. Why not to your meetings? Because we discuss issues whereas you discuss non-issues. Your women do not trust you. So if you want to attract the women, you have to explain them the *Manu Smriti* and its havoc. One woman in Tokyo (in Japan also women are treated as second-class citizens) wanted to find out why the women did not enjoy

equality. So she started making a research and finally she traced it to the *Manu Smriti*. She studied Sanskrit and translated it to Japanese. She traced the roots of the trouble of the women's degradation. Degradation of women not only in India but all over the world is due to the *Manu Smriti*. Widow-burning (*Sati*) practised even today is done as per the dictates in the *Manu Smriti*. The woman is considered unclean during menstruation as per this "holy" book. A woman can be kicked, and even killed, says Manu. Prostitution, Devadasi, system are all sanctioned by this anti-human Manu. Women must burn the *Manu Smriti* in public. Will you make a woman burn this *Manu Smriti* publicly ?

As long as you don't do this, rationalist associations will not attract women and other low castes. And as long as it is a male-dominated affair, it can never be a revolutionary organisation. Just as you are not attracting the women, you are also not attracting the Dalits. I do not know the position here. In Karnataka, no Dalit comes to rationalist meetings. They are simply not interested in rationalism. They consider it yet another Hindu stunt. And they are right. The issues discussed at rationalist meetings are no better than the Rotary Club deliberations. Dalits do not trust the rationalists. They say it is a forum for the Brahmins and Nairs, Mudaliars, Reddys, Vokkaligas, etc., to kill their time. You will have to broaden your sphere and go into the Laws of Contradictions, *Manu Smriti* and make a deep study of the different religions. Rationalits must hold beef parties.

At a seminar in Bangalore, I met a Marxist leader from Kerala, Govind Pillai. He was the editor of a Marxist daily. Since the burning subject of the day was Sikhs, we were discussing it and when my turn came I said Sikhs deserved full support. He questioned my support to the Sikhs. He said such a support amounted to communalism. Marxist leadership in this country has blundered because it is not interested in the "nationality question". Even the Muslims of India can't be called a single

nation. The Malayalam-speaking Muslims of Kerala—the Maplahs—are a separate nation, the Tamil-speaking Muslims are again separate. The Urdu-speaking people are a separate nation. India has several nations. The Marxist leadership doesn't want to recognise this central point because it goes against the interests of Brahminism. A Brahmin whether he is in RSS, Congress, Janata or CPM or CPI—his first duty is to protect his caste. Brahmins alone speak about India as a nation. Because they alone constitute the single biggest all-India community. That is why Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy said if it rains in Kashmir, the Kanyakumari Brahmin will catch cold. That is why Vajpayee, EMS Namboodiripad, Bahuguna, Deoras, Indira Gandhi all think alike. There is nothing like a Marxist Brahmin, RSS Brahmin or a Congress Brahmin. A Brahmin is a Brahmin. There is nothing like a good serpent or a bad serpent. It is very difficult to find a Brahmin without Brahminism. Exceptions like M. N. Roy, D. D. Kosambi are very rare.

IV. Muslims and Christians in China :

As rationalists it is your duty to support the "nationality question". Some Muslims and Christians are under the impression that under communism their religion will be destroyed. Nonsense. They think communism is anti-Muslim or anti-Christian. No. This is wrong. In China, Muslims told me that they were very well protected. Don't think that when communism comes there is going to be a destuction of mosques and churches. Recently, we had a delegation of Christians from China and they said in China the Christians have the full religious freedom. I also found the Muslims and Christians enjoying more freedom in China than they are enjoying in India. Muslims have absolutely no freedom inside India. Not only no freedom. Their life and property are always in danger. Muslims and Christians are called a security risk. Sikhs who always defended India are called

anti-national. So who is persecuting the minorities? India or China?. Where is the freedom for the Muslims in India? Is there a single Muslim in the Army? Because they are not trusted. If we don't trust people inside our own house, how can there be any peace in the house? Churches are being raided in Nagaland. Nuns molested in Bihar. Outsiders are not allowed to enter Arunachal Pradesh. Mother Teresa, a harmless woman cleaning the Hindu garbage, is called a CIA agent. Foreign priests are not given visa extension. Strict curbs are imposed on foreign church donations to India. Conversions are banned. All these are happening in a country described as the "greatest working democracy in the world"! But in China under communism, the Christians and Muslims have no such complaints. The Indian Marxist leadership is keeping mum on the persecution of religious minorities because they are one with the Hindu Nazis on this issue. What difference is there between the Hindu Nazis and Marxist leadership? Those "Marxists" who call me an anti-Marxist mark these words: Under Marxism, Muslims, Christians, the Sikhs will be well-protected.

Our Marxist leadership has betrayed the minorities. What happened in Biharshareef? The entire poor Muslims of area were the members of the CPI-affiliated Beedi Mazdoor Union. So also the poor Hindus. When the anti–Muslim riot started Muslim, beedi workers and Hindu beedi workers fought each other though both members of the CPI union. Marxist and communist leadership in India did not explain the basic principles of Marxism to their cadres because it is not in its caste interest. Our Left parties are only interested in trade unions—not in inculcating Marxist principles. Otherwise how can the poor members of a common union get divided on caste and religious lines when a conflict breaks out? As rationalists, it is our duty to protect the minorities. There is nothing communal in such an action. If anybody describes such an action as communal, it is our duty to educate such people.

Caste–Based Reservations

As regards our support to caste–based reservation, I can say this much. As long as the castes continue, caste-based reservations shall also continue. As long as the Shankaracharya post is reserved for the Brahmin, caste-based reservation will also stay. As long as the post of archaka (priest) is reserved for the Brahmin in Guruvayur temple, this will continue. Is it not a caste–based reservation? Even a Government-run temple reserves the temple priest job for Brahmins. Is this right? According to the *Agama Sastra,* which the Supreme Court also upheld, only the Brahmin can be a temple priest. So long as caste–based reservations are there in Government temples (like the Tirupati temple) caste-based reservations shall continue.

Why the people who are opposing caste-based reservations in Gujarat now are not opposing caste-based reservations in temples? Look at the double-standard of these people. Why the Marxists are keeping mum? Why are they not countering the anti-reservation agitation? Do you know why? I will tell you a secret. Even the Marxist leadership is opposed to caste-based reservations. Like the Hindu Nazis, they are also in favour of income-based reservations. So once again, is it not proved that in hitting the stomach of the Dalits, the Hindu Nazis and the Marxists are one? Brahmins have no permanent party. They have only permanent interests (cheers). Kick out this communal leadership. "Class struggle", leading to a revolution after the overthrow of the Ruling Class, will not be possible as long as you retain the existing. Left leadership. You must take over the leadership of the Marxist parties. Why not?

I repeat, as long as the castes continue, caste-based reservations will also continue.

The Brahmins, Banias and Patels, leading the anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat, should have launched an agitation against the caste system. No. They will not do it. Because they want the caste. If they want caste, we want caste-based reservations.

After all the reservations are applied only to 5% of the society. What is the percentage of Government servants in Kerala ? The total number of Government servants in Kerala is not even 5% of the State population. This is case all over India. That means reservation applies to mere 5% of the population. There is no reservation in non-Government posts. That means 95% of the sector is reserved for the high caste people. Only to 5% of the society, the reservation is applied. And even here the high caste Hindus dominate. The aim of the anti-reservation agitation is that even this 5% Government sector should be exclusively reserved for them. Look at the selfishness ! The extent of the heart-burning of these people ! Not only they want to exclusively enjoy, they don't want anybody else to enjoy ! This is called fascism. How can the "poor" among the Hindus be treated on par with the Untouchables ? A "poor" Hindu suffers from only one disability : poverty. But the poor Untouchable has the double disadvantage (1) poverty and more than that (2) social degradation. The "poverty" of the Hindus is a passing phase but untouchability is lifelong. Manu has said this.

The Constitution has provided for only 22.5% reservations. That its implementation is not even 5% is another story. Since the implementing authorities are also Hindus, they have cheated our people, they have subverted the Constitution. That is another story. But the anti-reservationists say their heart is bleeding for the "poor" Hindus. Alright. We are ready to concede that the high caste Hindu heart is melting, bleeding for the "poor" Hindus. If this is true, are they ready to set a portion of the "merit" quota

(meaning the non-reserved portion) to the "poor" among them ? If the non-Scheduled Castes have such a "tender" heart for their own "poor" Hindus, let them undergo a voluntary cut in their own share. No. This they don't want. They want not only to enjoy their non-reserved sector in full but encroach on our meagre share. Eh ! Mr. Hindu ! This will not work. We welcome your anti-reservation agitation. If you have the guts, come and fight us. We welcome the "caste war". Let us see which side the Marxists will take. Should I tell you ? They will take the side of the Hindus. Not Dalits. (cheers) Marxist leadership is humbug.

The Hindu religion – grading and degrading – is based on a permanent, hereditary inequality. So, as Yuktivadis it is our duty to fight this principal contradiction. In India, caste system is the principal contradiction.

Another interesting thing is the Ruling Class has created all sorts of funny organisations. We have organisations to prevent environmental pollution. But they are not worried about the social pollution owing to caste system which is a more serious social pollution compared to the environmental pollution. We have got in this country all types of associations. For example, SPCA – Society for the Prevention of Cruelty of Animals. We have got a society to prevent cruelty to the physically hadicapped and mentally handicapped. For the dumb and the deaf. For the blind. We have a society to prevent cruelty to trees, stones. You might have heard about a person called Sunderlal Bahuguna who is getting lot of publicity now-a-days. Whenever a tree is cut, it seems he goes and embraces the tree. This movement is called the "Chipko" movement and this movement is made famous in the North. Why not this Bahuguna go to a Dalit or a Muslim when their life is threatened ? We have got all types of associations and all of us waste our energies on this. Even

Dalits, shudras and minorities are made to believe that such associations are very important. And we believe them. Why ? Because our brains are kept in the Brahmin fridge. Brahmins think. And we dance to their tunes. Some of us are more Brahminised than the Brahmins. We are reduced to the level of puppets, and with the strings in the hands of Brahmins. We should see through this Brahmin game of fooling us through Chipko, Apikko and all this nonsense. The Shankaracharya of Kanchi, wants to import German cows facing slaughter there. Why ? Because he is worried about the cows. What about the daily slaughter of human beings in India ? He is least bothered about all these things. Is there any movement in India to prevent social inequality ? Is there any association to save the socially handicapped people ? Yuktivadis will have to devote their time and energy to expose these frauds. Then only we will be Yuktivadis. Yuktivada cannot be an association merely to spend a weekend. A time-pass wala. The weekend is coming. If you sit in the house the wife, the mother, the children will bother you, So you must have a chance to get away from the household chores. So, start a Yuktivadi Sangha. This should not be our motive. Yuktivadi Sangha should concentrate on fundamental issues. Radical and revolutionary changes will have to be brought about. Stop talking non-issues. Get down to issues. Eliminate the principal contradication. Hit to kill.

V. India's Fake Intellectuals :

That reminds me of another important thing—the Marxists and the Rationalists cannot marry within their *jati*. They can't. How can such people be called Marxists and rationalists ? You have a Marxist leader in Kerala who married his two sons to his own *jati* girls in temple ceremonies, himself being present. How can he be called a Marxist ? You have to set an example to others. It is not enough if I simply deliver

a lecture here and tomorrow arrange the marriage of my son like the Kerala Marxist leader. Marxists and rationalists will have to practice what they preach. But Marxist leaders deliver speeches but in action remain Hindus. We have a Marxist leader in Karnataka. He married his daughter at Tirupati. How can such people be called communists? How can such people be called rationalists?

This is what is called the intellectual dishonesty. Intellectual corruption is more serious than money corruption. If money corruption has become so serious a problem in India today, it is because the intellectually corrupt people do not mind money corruption. The Guruvayur temple chief priest Kakkad Othikkan Damodaran Namboothiri has stolen gold ornaments from the temple (*Indian Express*, Cochin, April 18, 1985). He is now absconding. Such things are normal in India. Is the Marxist leadership of India honest? I doubt. The Marxist leaders are are suffering from intellectual dishonesty.

As rationalists we have to be first and foremost intellectually honest. Can you forget Dr. B. R. Ambedkar? Can we forget Karl Marx, Buddha, Sri Narayana Guru? They were intellectual giants. But the Indian society is always led by dwarfs like M. K. Gandhi. This is because the "intellectuals" of India are not only not leading us, but they are actually misleading us. We have some "famous scientists" like Dr. Raja Ramanna. But he is propagating Brahminism. He wants to "marry" spritualism to science so that the even the little science that is remaining in India is also killed. Humbug. How can a person opening a Sai Baba conference be called a scientist? We have scientists propagating transcendental meditation. We have "historians" calling Taj Mahal a Hindu temple. "We have "philosophers" inaugurating Brahmin conferences. How can such people be called intellectuals?

Bangalore is famous for its scientific institutions. There is an organisation called ISRO, space research. Sometime back they fired the Aryabhata. You must be knowing about this. I was in the *Indian Express* then and attended the inauguration of the Aryabhata launching. When I went there the scientists were doing a *puja*. When I questioned, the scientists said all good things must begin with a prayer. If this is the type of scientists we have in this country, how can we get a Nobel Prize? You must have heard about JBS Haldane. He was an outstanding British scientist. He became his own guinea-pig. He designed a closed airtight glass-case in his laboratory and remained inside it for several hours to test his own theories. Has any Indin scientist subjected himself to such risks? No. Courage comes out of conviction.

Go to the house of any rich person of India. You will find all scientific gadgets. But he would be indulging in all sorts of superstitions things. Science is different from scientific temper. Without a scientific temper, science will not progress. The Hindu mind is anti-science that is why we take the best advantage of scientific tools without making our minds scientific. Can the Hindu mind become scientfic? I doubt. Rationalist associations must help make the young minds develop scientific temper. Then only science will develop.

Our "scientists" do not work in laboratories. They deal with files. Some of them have turned politicians. This is the type of scientists we have in this country. That is why we have not been able to produce any outstanding scientist. Our "intellectuals" are after power or money and that is why there is a "brain-drain". If there is any brain, then only the question of drain comes. How can there be a brain-drain when we have no brain? Our scientists and technologists have settled down in US, Canada, UK for getting higher pay. That means they are interested in money not

science. If they are genuinely interested in India, they would not have run away from here. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was a very outstanding barrister. He could have gone to the Privy Council in London and earned a lot of money. He wanted to stay in India and fight it out. If these scientists and technologists had any brain they would not have quit India. They would have fought inside India and made it prosperous. But they have no brain and hence there is no question of any drain. If this is the type of brain we have, it is better if it goes out. Good riddance. What we want is real brain.

Take the case of Karl Marx. He sat inside the British Museum for hours and hours, for days and days, months and months, years and years. He worked in the British Museum and produced his thesis. Has this country produced a single genius like him? We have produced only cockroaches called philosophers, earthworms called "Mahatmas" who have contributed nothing towards social change. They have raised lot of dust but not the level of humans.

Our scientists have become mostly purohits. Indira Gandhi's urn was taken round to holy places and the ash was put all over "holy" rivers at Government expenditure! Not one "scientist" protested. Tamil Nadu Rationalist Association filed a case against this in the High Court. We have an Atomic Energy Establishment in Bombay. When Satya Sai Baba, India's biggest and the richest godman, visited the centre, the scientists fell on his feet. At the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, there is a strong lobby working to invite the Sai Baba to bless them. How can such mentally corrupt persons become scientists?

This is the level to which our scientists go down. And we have got another "scientist" in our country called Dr. M. S. Swaminathan, a Palghat Iyer. You must have heard about him. Now he has gone out of India, because he is

getting a big fat salary. The Government came to know of the fraud and he was thrown out. The fraud was discovered by a commission of inquiry. He is an agricultural scientist. I will tell you about his fraud. He won the Magsasay Award for a "great" discovery, *Sarbati Sonara,* a dwarf wheat, which according to his claim contains more lysine content than milk. So if you eat this particular highly nutritious wheat, the malnutrition problem is solved. This is the claim. *Sarbati Sonara* was hailed as the answer to the malnutrition problem of India and Africa. For this he was given the Magsasay Award. But his own colleague revealed the secret and there was a demand that the claim of Dr. Swaminathan be tested. Parliament held a debate on this. I do not have the exact date. But you can verify this. The then Supreme Court Chief Justice, Gajendragadkar was appoined to probe this claim. This *Sarbati Sonara* wheat was sent to Bangalore Agricultural University for a laboratory test which revealed that the claim of Dr. Swaminathan was false. By then Dr. Swaminathan had bagged the Magsasay Award. This is what is called as the false claim by our scientists. Thesis for Ph D. submitted by somebody is rewritten and submitted and degree given. So many people got doctorate like this. This is the type of scholars we have in India. When this is the level of intellectual honesty, what else our scientists can do but go to astrologers? That is why our scientists and technologists do not condemn RSS-Viswa Hindu Parishad, the Hindu Munnani, etc. For that matter, even our Marxists do not condemn them. (cheers)

VI. Communism to save Brahminism:

I will be failing in my duty if I don't draw your attention to a new development that is taking place in India. A new theory is fast catching up. It is called "practical socialism". A person called Neelakanta Khadilkar, a follower of Veera Savarkar and editor of a Marathi daily from Bombay, was

invited to Russia two years ago. An RSS Chitpavan Brahmin from Poona. He was interested only in seeing the areas where Muslims are predominant, Uzbekistan, etc. After coming back he has written a book called *Practical Socialism.* (Rs. 25—1983, No. 13, Shenvewadi, Khadilkar Road, Girgaum, Bombay-400 004) This book is available. We have advertised it in *Dalit Voice* ("Marxism to the Rescue of Brahminism" DV Editorial, June, 1, 1985) also. Everybody must read this book.

Since Calicut is a Marxist stronghold and many of you are under the spell of Marxism, you should know this new development. The conclusion of Khadilkar is that communism alone can help revive Hinduism!!! He has stated this in categorical terms in this book. In Russia, they were able to crush Muslims and Christians only because of communism, he says. In India, our Hindu leaders are very much worried about Muslims. How to crush the Muslims? How to finish the Christians? Russia has done it through communism. Therefore, communism is welcome. It can revive Brahminism. After coming back he discussed it with Bal Thackeray, the Siva Sena fascist leader of Bombay, who jumped at this idea. He discussed it with S. A. Dange, chairman of the undivided Communist Party. Dange is not an ordinary person. He is the winner of the Lenin Order, highest award given in Soviet Russia. Dange is a Brahmin from Maharashtra who said Karl Marx got all his wisdom from the *Vedanta*, the Brahmin bullshit. He discussed it with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, a Kasmiri Brahmin. She also said communism alone can revive the dying Hinduism in India. This was the consensus. So let us not oppose communism. Because, through communism we can finish Muslims, Christians, and of course the dalits.

The idea did not remain as a book. It was experimented first in Bhiwandi and Bombay (1984). The anti-Muslim riots that rocked sometime in July or August last year is the

result of this experiment. "Practical Socialism" resulted in the murder of Muslims and Dalits in Bhiwandi and Bombay. To counter this practical socialism, immediately the Muslims and Dalits made a joint front in Bombay under the leadership of Haji Mastan and Jogendra Kawade. They formed a Muslim-Dalit Suraksha Sena to counter the "Practical Socialism".

Our communist leadership has come to know that only through Marxism it is possible to maintain their caste status in India. That is why more and more Brahmin youths are turning Marxists. The clamour of "economic criterion" to dicide "backwardness" and not caste comes from this section of Marxists. Whenever I go to Delhi, I visit the Jawaharlal Nehru University. It is India's most prestigious University. High-caste boys there sport a beard, smoke beedis. They have a sling-bag and mouth Marxist jargon. But all of them perfectly maintain their caste status. That is why I am warning you against this new danger: "Beware of Socialist Bahmins". Marxism is being misused to suit the perverted interests of the high castes who own the entire property and privileges.

I am warning you against this danger. You are in a Marxist stronghold. So there is every chance of your getting deceived as long as you don't think for yourself.

Finally, I want to make an appeal. There must be some Marxist cadres present here belonging to the high caste. Please touch your heart and you will then know yourself whether what you are doing is right or wrong. This country belongs to all of us. It is as much your duty to improve India as ours. If you say: "Yes, I am having a job in Kuwait and I am going away, some Rs. 3,000 per month". Forget about this country. But those of you remaining here will have to suffer as long as you keep this society rotten. Whether you are a Marxist, Yuktivadi or Dalit, this country belongs to us.

As Dalits, we are more concerned because we are its original inhabitants. We love this country more than the Aryan invaders – including those Aryans in the CPM.

Some of my words might have hurt you. Please don't think that only you are being hurt. We Dalits are being hurt both mentally and physically by the Hindus, everyday. So if any word or sentence has hurt, you think deeply about that particular word and sentence when you go home and are lying down. "This V. T. Rajshekar who came from Bangalore, spoke like this. Why did he speak so harshly? Whether there is any truth in his statement? If he has said so, why did he say so? Is there any truth in it? What particular interest he has? What is the intention behind his tirade? If there is no truth, why did he indulge in such falsehood? If he spoke the truth, why did that truth hurt me? What is his interest in speaking an unpleasant truth in a public meeting?" Think deeply on all these things and you will yourself come to correct conclusions.

I feel for this country. I feel that something is very radically wrong with us. It needs a major surgery and not an ordinary one. No cosmetic treatment. We don't hate anybody. Even if we criticise the Aryans, Brahmins, Vaishyas, etc., we don't want to drive them out, despite their being foreigners. Right now even Brahmins are not happy in India. But under our rule they will be happy. Hindus will be made humans. We will give you that assurance.

It is our duty as Yuktivadis to be in the forefront of the revolution. We have to take our women into confidence. Dalits and women will be in the forefront of the Revolution. The Brahmin (not Brahmin women) should come behind us. A Brahmin woman is not a Brahmin. She is *shudra*. Manu has said this. Yuktivadis should conduct a class for Brahmin women. *Manu Smriti* should be explained to them. The Brahmin women do not know the poison in it. Form a

women's wing. Yuktivadi women's wing. It is not proper to segregate women in that way. Yet to begin with you may have one. Take the Dalits with you. Put them in the fore-front of the coming Revolution. I don't think, you have any Dalit membership now.

Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity. Normally I do not deliver long speeches. But I was told that I had to drive home certain points, properly. If I have made you think, my job is done. Thinking leads to action. Because it is an intellectual city and a Marxist–Muslim centre. Thank you for showing so much patience and listening to me with pindrop silence. Thank you.

Jai Bheem.

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